

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5880
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 KIGALI 0383

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: AMGT PFOR RW
SUBJECT: ACHIEVING U.S. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN RWANDA

REF: A. 77 STATE 291277, B. 77 STATE 295546, C. KIGALI 66

SUMMARY: REFS (B) AND (C) DEFINED OUR GOALS AND
OBJECTIVES: HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHNIC RECONCILIATION;
INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION AND REDUCED POPULATION GROWTH;
IMPROVED COOPERATION WITH US ON GLOBAL ISSUES; AND
BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN RWANDA AND ITS NEIGHBORS.
EMBASSY SEES PROGRESS ON ALL FOUR FRONTS BUT BELIEVES IT
COULD BE UNDERMINED BY RWANDAN DOUBTS ABOUT U.S. RESOLVE
AND PURPOSES HERE AND ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA. WHILE OUR
EUROPEAN ALLIES WILL CONTINUE TO CARRY MAJOR DEVELOPMENTAL
BURDEN, WE BELIEVE OUR SPECIAL INTERESTS -- ESPECIALLY
HUMAN RIGHTS, FOOD PRODUCTION, AND POPULATION -- DICTATE A
SUBSTANTIALLY MORE ACTIVE U.S. ROLE IN ORDER TO REINFORCE OUR
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CREDIBILITY AND SHARPEN IMPACT ON OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. ISSUE
IS WHETHER WE WILL MATCH THIS LARGER ROLE WITH BUDGETARY AND
PERSONNEL RESOURCES IT IMPLIES. END SUMMARY.

1. OVERVIEW: OUR GENERAL APPROACH.

A. HUMAN RIGHTS. DESPITE TRAGIC HISTORY OF ETHNIC
VIOLENCE, RWANDANS ARE WORKING SERIOUSLY AT HUTU-TUTSI

RECONCILIATION UNDER ENLIGHTENED LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO IMPRESS UPON THEM OUR SERIOUS CONCERN OVER HR IN GENERAL AND OUR INTEREST IN RWANDA'S PROBLEM AREAS: RESIDUAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TUTSI AND TWA; FATE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS; ARBITRARY OR PROLONGED DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL. WE MUST SHOW REVERSE FACE OF OUR POLICY, HOWEVER, BY RECOGNIZING AND ACKNOWLEDGING GOR ACHIEVEMENTS (ESPECIALLY ON ETHNIC ISSUE AND RELATIONS WITH TUTSI-RULED BURUNDI) AND BY PROVIDING MATERIAL SUPPORT TO IMPROVE PRACTICES (JUDICIARY TRAINING PROJECT). WE WILL MEANWHILE REAFFIRM POOR-MAJORITY FOCUS OF ALL ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES, AS MEANS OF ADDRESSING ECONOMIC RIGHTS CATEGORY.

B. FOOD AND POPULATION. OUR "CATALYTIC" EFFORTS HAVE HELPED SIGNIFICANTLY IN FOCUSING RWANDAN AND OTHER DONOR ATTENTION ON NEED TO GROW MORE FOOD/HAVE FEWER BABIES, BUT SHADOW OF IMPENDING DEMOGRAPHIC DISASTER LOOMS OVER LARGER. EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO CONCENTRATE MOST AVAILABLE RESOURCES -- DIPLOMATIC, ANALYTICAL, INFORMATIONAL, DEVELOPMENTAL -- ON THESE TWIN PROBLEMS. WITH SUPPORT FROM ENTIRE EMBASSY, AID AND PC WILL PURSUE PROJECTS IN AG ADUCATION; FOOD STORAGE AND MARKETING; FISH CULTURE; AND FARM-TO-MARKET ROADS. WE WILL ALSO STUDY POSSIBILITIES FOR INVESTING ADDED RESOURCES IN INTENSIVE FOOD PRODUCTION (INTERGRATED RURAL DEV); ENERGY ALTERNATIVES, AND RURAL HEALTH IMPROVZMZNTS. LESS SECRET

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DIRECTLY BUT NO LESS DELIBERATELY, WE WILL ENCOURAGE RWANDAN SEARCH FOR EFFECTIVE DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY BY HELPING FUND EXPERIMENTAL FP ACTIVITES; PATHFINDER TRAINING COURSES AND PILOT PROJECTS; AND MCH/NUTRITION PROJECTS WHICH ENHANCE RECEPTIVITY TO FP COUNSELING.

C. REGIONAL AND GLOBAL COOPERAION. ALTHOUGH NOT SEVERALY TESTED DURING PAST YEAR, GOT HAS SO FAR HONORED ITS 1977 COMMITMENT TO PAY MORE HEED TO OUR VIEWS ON VITAL GLOBAL ISSUES. ASSIGNMENT OF PAO AND UPGRADING CULTURAL CENTER/INFO ACTIVITIES WILL REINFORCE OUR DKPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO TURN THAT COMMITMENT TO ADVANTAGE. BUT SUCCESS WILL ALSO DEPEND ON PROVING OUR CONCERN FOR RWANDAN DEVELOPMENT. SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF AID PROJECTS, ESPECIALLY THOSE WITH MEASURABLE "IMPACT," WILL REASSURE RWANDAN LEADERS THAT TIES WITH WEST ARE WORTH FOSTERING. WE WILL ALSO SEEK TO AUGMENT INFLUENCE AMONG MILITARY, IF NOT THROUGH MATERIAL AID THEN BY PERSONAL ATTENTION, SINCE THEIR ATTITUDES STRONGLY COLOR GOR FOREIGN RELATIONS AND POLICIES.

D. RWANDA AND ITS NEIGHBORS. HABYARIMANA'S "OUVERTURE" POLICY PROMISES TO PAY DIVIDENDS ECONOMICALLY (IMPROVED TRANSPORT TIES, JOINT RESOURCE EXPLOITATION)

AND POLITICALLY (RELAXATION OF ETHNIC TENSIONS WITH BURUNDI). WE WILL CONTINUE ENCOURAGING MODERATE RWANDAN INITIATIVES AMONG CENTRAL/EAST AFRICANS, ESPECIALLY WHERE THESE REDUCE SECURITY/ARMS-RACE WORRIES AND HELP SOLVE FOOD/POPULATION PROBLEMS. BECAUSE OF HR IMPLICATIONS, IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH BURUNDI WILL TAKE PRIORITY; BUT POSITIVE STEPS WITH TANZANIA, ZAIRE, AND EVEN UGANDA SHOULD HAVE OUR BLESSING TOO. FOR SAME REASONS, WE WILL ALSO SEARCH FOR MEANS TO GIVE EFFECTIVE BOOST TO FLEDGLING REGIONAL ORGS (GREAT LAKES COMMUNITY: TECHNICAL HELP WITH METHANE; AKAGERA BASIN: TRANSPORT CO-FINANCING).

2. KEY POLICY ISSUE: GOALS VERSUS RESOURCES.

FOR MANY YEARS, CONVENTIONAL WISDOM HAS DICTATED A SECRET

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SECONDARY OR "CATALYTIC" ROLE FOR U.S. IN RWANDA, BASED ON BELIEF THAT EX-METROPOLE (BELGIUM) AND OTHER EUROPEANS SHOULD TAKE LEAD HERE. SEVERAL FACTORS FORCE US TO RE-EXAMINE THIS ASSUMPTION:

-- ACTIVISM OF CARTER ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, WIDELY INTERPRETED AS INCREASED US COMMITMENT TO DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE-KEEPING;

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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-- CONGRESSIONAL MANDATE THAT WE PAY MORE ATTENTION TO NEEDS OF POOREST COUNTRIES AND TO PROBLEMS OF FOOD PRODUCTION, HEALTH, AND POPULATION AMONG RURAL POOR;

-- GROWING SOVIET/CUBAN/RADICAL ARAB INTERVENTION IN REGION; AND

-- UNCERTAIN WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY OF BELGIANS TO MAINTAIN LEADERSHIP AND PAY CORRESPONDING PRICE.

AS A WHOLE, WESTERN INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA AND SUPPORT FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS ARE STRONG AND GROWING. IF BELGIUM'S ROLE IS LESS PREDOMINANT THAN IN THE PAST, THOSE OF FRANCE, FRG, FED, AND IFI'S ARE INCREASING IN IMPORTANCE. THANKS IN PART TO OUR OWN CATALYTIC EFFORTS, THESE OTHER DONORS ARE ALSO DEVOTING GREATER EMPHASIS TO AREAS OF CONCERN TO US CONGRESS (NOTABLY AGRICULTURE AND HEALTH).

IT IS NEVERTHELESS APPARENT THAT AMBITIOUS GOALS WE HAVE ASSIGNED OURSELVES (REFTELS) CANNOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS WE ARE PREPARED TO BREAK WITH CONVENTIONAL WISDOM
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AND ASSUME MORE ACTIVE LEADERSHIP. WHATEVER THEIR AID CONTRIBUTION IN OVERALL TERMS, OTHER WESTERN DONORS IN RWANDA ARE LESS SENSITIVE TO IMPENDING FOOD/POPULATION DISASTER AND LESS SHARPLY FOCUSED UPON MEASURES TO ADDRESS THIS OVERRIDING PROBLEM (SEE DAP). MOREOVER, RWANDA IS RARE EXAMPLE OF "POOREST OF THE POOR" TRYING TO DO RIGHT BY ITS RURAL MAJORITY VIA MODERATE, RESPONSIBLE AND ENLIGHTENED DEVELOPMENT POLICIES; IN LIGHT OF CONGRESSIONAL MANDATE, THIS ALONE JUSTIFIES SPECIAL US INTEREST AND AUGMENTED EFFORT.

FINALLY, U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS AND REGIONAL POLITICAL GOALS IN RWANDA CALL FOR LEADERSHIP AND INITIATIVE WHICH WE CANNOT EXPECT FROM ANY OTHER QUARTER. TO OBTAIN LEVERAGE WITH RWANDANS TO PURSUE THESE GOALS, WE SIMPLY MUST INVEST MORE HEAVILY IN RWANDAN DEVELOPMENT -- THE YARDSTICK BY WHICH RWANDANS MEASURE SUCH THINGS. LIKEWISE, HEIGHTENED US (AS WELL AS SOVIET) ACTIVISM IN AFRICAN AFFAIRES HAS STIMULATED A SURGE OF INTEREST WHICH CANNOT BE SATISFIED BY OUR PRESENT INFO MEANS AND WHICH COULD BE TURNED TO GREAT ADVANTAGE IN PURSUIT OF OUR OBJECTIVES.

EMBASSY BELIEVES, THEREFORE, THAT ABOVE FACTORS MILITATE IN FAVOR OF A HIGHER AND MORE ACTIVE US PROFILE IN RWANDA. REOPENING OUR AID OFFICE IN 1976, ASSIGNMENT OF PCD IN 1977, INCREASING DEVELOPMENT AID COMMITMENTS FOR FY 78-79 AND EXPECTED ARRIVAL OF PAO THIS YEAR AL-

READY SIGNAL A MORE IN THIS DIRECTION. NUB OF POLICY
ISSUE IS WHETHER WE ARE PREPARED TO ASSIGN INCREASED
PROGRAM RESOURCES WHICH THIS TREND IMPLIES:

(A) BY CONFIRMING \$8-10 MILLION ANNUAL DEVELOP-
MENT ASSISTANCE LEVEL OVER NEXT TWO TO THREE YEARS, AS
CONTAINED IN RECENTLY-APPROVED DAP REVISION;

(B) BY SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN "PUBLIC DIPLOMACY"
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PROGRAMMING GUNDS;

(C) BY NEW ATTEMPT TO CHANNEL NON-COMBAT SUPPORT TO
RWANDAN MILITARY AND INCREASED EFFORTS TO CULTIVATE ARMY
OFFICERS;

(D) THROUGH MORE SERIOUS, HIGHER-LEVEL CONSULTATION
AND EXCHANGE VISITS WITH GOR ON REGIONAL AND GLOBAL
PROBLEMS; AND

(D) BY UPGRADING EMBASSY PLANT, FACILITIES, AND PER-
SONNEL COMPLEMENT TO ENABLE IT TO PERFORM EXPANDED ROLE
EFFECTIVELY.

3. PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS.

FACTORS LISTED PARA TWO ABOVE HAVE LED RWANDANS TO
EXPECT A MORE ACTIVE, ASSERTIVE US PRESENCE IN THIS
COUNTRY. HOW TO RELATE OR RESPOND TO UNITED STATES
HAS BECOME, WE BELIEVE, A MAJOR ISSUE IN GOVERNMENT
COUNCILS ALTHOUGH NOT MUCH DISCUSSED WITH OUTSIDERS.
PRES. HABYARIMANA, TOP MILITARY OFFICERS, AND KEY CABINET
MEMBERS HAVE STAKED PRESTIGE ON IDENTIFICATION WITH U.S.
AND WESTERN ALLIES, AND WE HAVE ENJOYED SOMETHING OF A
HONEYMOON DURING PAST TWO-THREE YEARS AS A RESULT. SOME
CONSEQUENCES HAVE BEEN GRATIFYING IN TERMS OF OUR GOALS/
OBJECTIVES: ACTIVE INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS (AND
SPONSORSHIP OF HR COLLOQUIUM); GREATER ATTENTION TO US
POSITIONS ON ISSUES AT UNGA AND OTHER FORUMS; ACCEPTANCE
OF DISCREET US HELP IN ADDRESSING POPULATION PROBLEM;
GREATER FOCUS ON FOOD PRODUCTION AND STORAGE; RECEPTIVITY
TO PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND TRADE; AND INTERVENTION WITH
IDI AMIN ON BEHALF OF AMERICANS IN UGANDA.

BUT FRIENDLY RWANDAN LEADERS HAVE LATELY INDICATED
THAT THEY ARE GROWING IMPATIENT AND UNEASY AT OUR RELUC-
TANCE TO ASSUME LARGER LEADERSHIP ROLE, ESPECIALLY IN
FACE OF INCREASING SOVIET ACTIVITY NEARBY. THEY ARE
DISAPPOINTED IN OUR MODEST DEVELOPMENT AID LEVELS, AND
HABYARIMANA IS ESPECIALLY CONCERNED AT OUR REFUSAL TO
PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THIS GROUP WARNS THAT ITS
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OPPONENTS RIDICULE OUR FAILURE TO "PRODUCE" AND DEMAND THAT GOR LOOK INSTEAD TO SIVIETS, ARABS, CHINESE, AND THIRD WORLD RADICIALS FOR IDENTIFICATION AND SUPPORT. WHILE THIS MAY BE PARTLY BLUFF, WE KNOW THAT HABYARIMANA IS CHAFING AT CRITICISM THAT HE DEVOTES TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO DEVELOPMENT, ETHINIC RECONCILIATION, AND GOOD-NEIGHTBOR RELATIONS AND NOT ENOUGHT TO MILITARY PREPAREDNESS.

WE DO NOT EXPECT A SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO HABYARIMANA'S WESTERN-ORIENTED ROLE DURING NEXT TWO YEARS, BUT WE CANNOT EXCLUDE THIS POSSIBILITY: HIS IS NO IRON-FISTED CONTROL. FROM WHAT WE KNOW OF DISGRUNTLED GROUP, THEY ARE MOSTLY RETROGRADES: ANTI-TUSI, ANTI-WESTERN MACHO -TYPES LITTLE CONCERNED WITH POVERTY OF RURAL MASSES. WERE THEY TO SEIZE POWER, RWANDA MIGHT WELL DRIFT TOWARD AUTHORITARIANISM AND XENOPHOBIA AKIN TO PRACTICES IN UGANDA NEXT DOOR.

SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY, IF HABYARIMANA CANNOT DRAMATICALLY DEMONSTRATE VALUE OF WESTERN-ORIENTATION, IS THAT HE WILL FEEL HIMSELF OBLIGED TO TONE DOWN HIS FRIENDLIER AND MORE PROGRESSIVE POLICIES IN ORDER TO PLACATE THESE OPPONENTS: MILITARY AID FROM LIBYANS AND PERHAPS SIVIETS; CLOSER ALIGNMENT WITH OAU HARD-LINERS; A SHIFT AWAY FROM RUAL EMPHASIS TOWARD SHOWCASE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: AND A MORATORIUM ON TUTSI INTEGRATION. ANY OR ALL OF THESE REVERSALS WOULD SERIOUSLY COMPROMISE ACHIEVEMENT OF US OBJECTIVES IN RWANDA. INDEED, MERE CHANGE OF CLIMATE WOULD INHIBIT OUR IMPLEMENTING PROJECTS KEYED TO THOSE OBJECTIVES.

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4. COURSES OF ACTION.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH GOALS/OBJECTIVES DEFINED FOR RWANDA, OUR EFFORTS DURING 1978-79 WILL CONCENTRATE UPON THE FOLLOWING (ROAM NUMERALS INDICATE GOALS TO WHICH EACH COURSE RELATES -- SEE REFTELS):

A. DIPLOMATIC

(1) CONTINUE STRESSING OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY FATE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM 1973 COUP, WHILE ALSO ENCOURAGING FURTHER ETHNIC RECONCILIATION.

(I).

(2) PRESS SOMEWHAT MORE OPENLY FOR EFFECTIVE BIRTH CONTROL MEASURES, INDICATING OUR WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE SUPPORT. (II).

(3) ENCOURAGE GREATER COORDINATION AMONG WESTERN DONORS, ESPECIALLY IN FOOD-RELATED FIELDS; PERSUADE GOR TO HOST MINI-ROUNDTABLE AMONG DONORS IN THIS SECTOR. (II).

(4) CULTIVATE ARMY OFFICERS MORE ACTIVELY
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(WITH DATT HELP), WHILE REEXAMINING POSSIBILITIES FOR NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING. (I, III, IV).

(5) CONSULT MORE REGULARLY ON REGIONAL DND GLOBAL ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO U.S.; EXCHANGE HIGH-LEVEL VISITS WITH WASHINGTON FOR THIS PURPOSE. (I, III).

(6) GIVE SPECIFIC RECOGNITION TO ACHIEVEMENTS OF RWANDA (AND BURUNDI) LEADERSHIP IN DAMPING DOWN ETHNIC TENSIONS AND ACHIEVING CLOSER BILATERAL TIES. (I, IV).

(7) FOSTER INTEREST IN U.S. PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND TRADE, ESPECIALLY IN FOOD-RELATED AREAS. (II, III).

(8) CONTINUE TO CONCENTRATE EMBASSY REPORTING AND ANALYSIS ON MATTERS TOUCHING UPON OUR GOALS OR SUPPORTING THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS. (ALL).

B. DEVELOPMENTAL

(1) DOUBLE CAPACITY OF AID FOOD STORAGE AND MARKETING PROJECT. (II).

(2) INITIATE CONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL-LEVEL FOOD STORAGE FACILITIES AND ORGANIZATION OF COOPERATIVES. (II).

(3) ASSIST IN EXPANDING/IMPROVING FARM-RELATED VOCATIONAL TRAINING. (II).

(4) INITIATE NATIONALWIDE FISH CULTURE PROJECT, BACKING PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS WITH AID FUNDING. (II).

(5) DESIGN AND INITIATE RURAL ROAD IMPROVEMENT

PROJECT IN KIBUYE AREA, ONE OF RWANDA'S POOREST AND MOST REMOTE (II).

(6) THROUGH GOR, ASSIST GREAT LAKES COMMUNITY IN DESIGNING PILOT PROJECT TO EXPLOIT METHANE GAS. (II, III).

(7) IF APPROVED BY WASHINGTON, BUILD SMALL TRAINING CENTER TO UPGRADE JUDGES, COURT OFFICIALS IN UNDERSTANDING RWANDAN LAW. (II).

(8) EXPLORE AND DESIGN POSSIBLE INTERGRATED SECRET

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT/FOOD GROWING PROJECT FOR LATER EXECUTION. (II).

(9) SIMILARLY, EXAMINE AND DESIGN POSSIBLE RURAL HEALTH PROGRAM EMPHASIZING MCH, NUTRITION, AND FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES FOR POST-1979 IMPLEMENTATION. (II).

C. INFORMATIONAL

(1) STRENGTHEN INFO/CULTURAL CENTER ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO SUPPORT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS, OUR ROLE IN FOOD PRODUCTION AND FAMILY PLANNING, AND OUR INTEREST IN REGIONAL STABILITY. (ALL).

(2) ENLARGE TECHNICAL LIBRARY TO SERVE NEEDS OF RWANDANS WORKING IN DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES, ESPECIALLY FOOD PRODUCTION/FAMILY PLANNING. (II).

(3) REFINE AND MAKE BETTER USE OF TARGETED MEANS OF INFLUENCING RWANDAN LEADERS RE U.S. ROLE IN AFRICA, U.S. VIEWS ON WORLD ISSUES. (III, IV).

(4) STRENGTHEN OUR MANAGEMENT OF IV PROGRAM, INCREASE NUMBERS, AND STRESS GOAL-RELATED ACTIVITIES FOR RWANDAN VISITORS TO U.S. (ALL).

D. LOGISTICAL

(1) DESIGN EMBASSY EXPANSION AND RENOVATION TO ACCOMMODATE PROJECTED INCREASES IN PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING NEXT FIVE YEARS. (ALL).

(2) COMPLETE AFRECON COMMUNICATIONS UPGRADING NOW IN PROGRESS. (ALL).

(3) STRENGTHEN SUPPORT SERVICES BY ADDING ONE ASSISTANT ADMIN OFFICER AND AN AID MANAGEMENT OFFICER. (ALL).

5. BUDGETARY IMPLICATIONS OF FOREGOING (77 STATE 297294) WILL BE TREATED SEPTEL. CRIGLER

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